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ABSTRACT

During the 1972-73 academic year, a research team working out of Teachers College, Columbia University conducted case studies in districts where comprehensive and effective desegregation processes had been implemented. The Goldsboro City School System, Goldsboro, North Carolina, was selected as a site which had provided evidence of practices and policies associated with effective school desegregation. A research team visited the Goldsboro City system during January and again in February 1973. The purpose of the study was to document effective school desegregation practices and procedures under a variety of conditions. Variables examined include: student contact, assignment and grouping at all levels; regrouping within classrooms, staff interaction, the effects of desegregation on school names and other aspects of student identity, student representation in school, activities, student groupings in such settings as lunchrooms, playgrounds, and lounge areas, parent representation in the schools, current concerns of staff, students, and parents; and, the roles of the district staff and black and white community prior to and during desegregation. Individual and group interviews were held with district administrators, teachers, parents, community members, and students. Observations took place in classrooms, lunchrooms, hallways, and playgrounds. (Author/JM)

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DESEGREGATION IN GOLDSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA

A CASE STUDY

Prepared by

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Teachers College, Columbia University
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Following are the names of the staff that comprised the investigation and observation team in Goldsboro, North Carolina:

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INTRODUCTION

During the 1972-73 academic year, a research team working out of Teachers College, Columbia University conducted case studies in districts where comprehensive and effective desegregation processes had been implemented. The Goldsboro City School system, Goldsboro North Carolina, was selected as a site which had provided evidence of practices and policies associated with effective school desegregation.

A research team visited the Goldsboro City system during January and again in February, 1973. Staff members in Goldsboro gave complete cooperation to the research activities. The efforts of Superintendent James A. Buie and Assistant Superintendent John Henry Wooten especially facilitated the research activities which were conducted in the district schools.

The purpose of the study was to document effective school desegregation practices and procedures under a variety of conditions. Variables examined include:

- -student contact in academic and nonacademic activities
- -assignment and grouping at all levels
- -regrouping within classrooms
- -staff interaction
- - the effects of desegregation on school names and other aspects of student identity
- -school policies for ensuring adequate student representation in school activities
- -student groupings in such settings as lunchrooms, playgrounds, hallways, and lounge areas
- -parent representation in the schools

-current concerns of staff, students, and parents

-the roles of the district staff and black and white community prior to and during desegregation

Individual and group interviews were held with district administrators, teachers, parents, community members, and students. Observations took place in classrooms, lunchrooms, hallways, and playgrounds. Thus, participant observation and structured and unstructured interviewing characterized data gathering techniques. The data was analyzed to determine key variables and to examine their linkage to resultant school programs and experiences for students, staff, and parents.

PART I

THE SETTING

DEMOGRAPHIC SURVEY IN THE SETTING

Incorporated in 1847, Goldsboro, North Carolina is an attractive southern city centrally located, fifty miles southeast of Raleigh, the capital. In the heart of the coastal plains section, it is fast becoming a distribution center in wholesale trade. Its excellent rail and highway facilities provide convenient means of transhipment to other cities and towns. The city is served by two railroads and eight trucking terminals, and is intersected by major highways.

Goldsboro is the county seat for Wayne County, North Carolina, and is at the center of one of the great agricultural areas of the United States. Literature prepared by the Goldsboro area Chamber of Commerce indicates that tobacco is the principal cash crop in the area, followed by corn, potatoes, green beans, wheat, and soy beans. The sixteen grain producing counties of Eastern North Carolina, of which Wayne is the center, form the largest grain belt east of the Mississippi.

Light industry in Goldsboro and Wayne County includes the manufacturing of furniture, textile, footwear, and foundry and leather products as well as metal fabricating and the production of electrical components and transformers. While the diversified economy of Goldsboro is characterized by strong local ownership, the largest employer in the area is Seymour Johnson Air Force Base.

Goldsboro is governed by a mayor and five aldermen, elected biennally. Municipal affairs are administered by a city manager selected by the Board. A walk along the streets of the downtown shopping area reveals neatly kept stores, busy with customers. One does not get the impression of a deteriorating city center. However, census figures do reveal movement of the white population to the county area, and a movement of the black population into the City.

Census figures of 1970 indicate that approximately 49% of the city's population of 26,810 is black. This represents an eight percent increase in the black population since 1960. During the same decade, the white population decreased by 18.2%, affecting a seven percent loss in the total city population. Figures for the county show just the opposite. Also, the number of new family dwellings constructed in the City of Goldsboro is declining while the County number is increasing.

Economic characteristics in the 1970 census show that many blacks in Goldsboro are employed as service workers, private household workers, and laborers in both farming and manufacturing. About 11% of the black population work as professionals, however. While whites are also employed as service workers and laborers, a large percentage of whites in Goldsboro are professionals and leaders in business. The unemployment rate for blacks is almost twice the rate for whites in the area.

For recreation, Goldsboro citizens utilize five parks in and around the city, three lakes, and three recreation centers. Swimming, boating, and fishing are popular, and North Carolina beaches are only two hours away.

A strong sense of religious faith is characteristic of the citizens of Goldsboro, and more than seventy churches in the area represent practically every religious denomination.

RACE RELATIONS

While demographic description may help to form an initial image of this particular setting, it cannot begin to reflect the complex network of traditions, roles and attitudes affecting the nature of interpersonal interaction in such a setting. As in innumerable other small southern cities, relationships between blacks and

whites have been woven into a fabric of mutual expectations which has set definite limits upon communication, trust and understanding. The political attitudes of whites in Goldsboro are conservative, and black community members in interviews alluded to a highway billboard sign about ten miles outside of Goldsboro carrying the message, "Welcome to Ku Klux Klan country."

Events within both political and educational spheres over the past decade have reshaped relationships between blacks and whites in Goldsboro. Blacks have gained a sense of urgency in attaining equal rights and privileges. Whites have been forced to examine the meaning of conditions dictated by past traditions which have now been challenged on all fronts. While efforts to communicate and work together characterize shifting relationships between blacks and whites in Goldsboro, some black community members felt that the reality of an emergent opposing force from black radicals in and around the city created a certain parity. In referring to political realities, a black businessman stated:

> We have fair race relations here. We have gotten our foot in the door. If there is a problem uptown, they will come and talk to the black community. It's not all on one side now, and that was shown one time. Some black radicals almost burned up the town. They know now you can push us but so far. We have a little respect for each other now. With some, they respect us because they know if they flog us tonight, tomorrow we're going to burn them up. We get along now.

Recently, the appearance of a group of blacks before the Board of Aldermen had resulted in the hiring of more blacks as policemen and firemen.

Both whites and blacks spoke of little social interaction with one another. This social distance is underlined by segregated housing patterns in Goldsboro. While many blacks live in neat brick or frame houses in pleasant neighborhoods, there are also many who live in weather-beaten wooden shacks standing on brick supports along

rutted dirt roads. In stark contrast are the shaded white neighborhoods with graceful homes that hint of elegant life styles.

Yet, both blacks and whites spoke of friendly relationships that had been formed over years of employer-employee interaction. For some, a sense of closeness and trust had been formed within the limits defined by these role expectations. Churches have recently sponsored events where blacks and whites could socialize together. When theFirst African Baptist Church burned down, some white churches in Goldsboro invited the black parishioners of the Baptist Church to participate in their programs. There are also some integrated facilities for student activities after school hours. However, these cre by no means sufficiently equipped, and boys make more use of them than girls. They include the Wayne Community Center, Boys Club at Royal Street, E. H. House Club (named for past Dillard High School coach) and a Teen Club.

Most noteworthy was a community presentation of The Messiah during December, 1972. Previously, the work had been performed annually by black community members in an all black church. This past year, however, whites had also participated, going into the black community to rehearse, and the performance had taken place in an all white church. This was earmarked by many community members, both black and white, as a very positive example of relationships in the community. The black male director of the choir stated, "Both races discovered each other. There was a beautiful sharing in the whole situation. Years back, whites might not have taken that step. There were more whites than blacks this year."

A biracial Human Relations Committee exists in Goldsboro which is made up of prominent black and white people. Problems are brought to this committee, and repre-

sentatives go back to their own groups to try to settle the problems. While segregationists exist on this committee, they appear willing to work on problems to avoid major confrontations in the town. Both blacks and whites spoke positively of the Committee and its efforts to solve problems through mutual dialogue. Black businessmen and professionals spoke, however, of their difficulties in initiating significant black involvement in political decision making in Goldsboro. One businessman stated, "Only about 35% of our blacks are eligible to vote, and money and votes are what are needed. We certainly don't have the money." When asked to name outstanding black leaders in the community, blacks said they had no spokesmen. However, the name of a prosperous black businesswoman was constantly raised as someone who had a lot of influence, and who would speak for blacks in a crisis. Some blacks felt that the aura of cooperation with whites in Goldsboro had made blacks lax as far as politics was concerned. Others felt that historically blacks in the south had not been prepared to deal effectively with political realities:

> We have not been taught to use what we have. I'm guilty of that. I have a lot more information in my possession than I really put to use, and sometimes under stress I'll remember something that I could use very well. But we become frightened, and we are afraid. And when a real emergency comes along and threatens us, instead of thinking, we become so tense that we can't visualize anything except the worse happening. And most of us can't stand any more worse things happening to us, you know. We've been threatened so much. And so we are not financially, emotionally, or in any way equipped to handle any crisis.
>
> (minister's wife)

As in most communities across the United States, the white power structure is a deeply embedded way of life, having its roots in historical precedence, wealth, and influence. In Goldsboro, this structure is linked to school decision making, and a significant element in the process of desegregation in this comfortable small city

was the support given by white community leaders. As members of the Board of Education and as leading spokesmen in the community, they helped lead an effort that was characterized by widespread communication and cooperation throughout the black and white communities.

PART II

DESEGREGATION PLANS AND PROCESSES

DESEGREGATION PLANS[1]
1965 - 1972

A familiarity with housing patterns, power structures, and the nature of black-white relations in the Goldsboro community is fundamental to an appreciation of the school district's accomplishment in dismantling a segregated system with a minimum amount of conflict. While there is much yet to be done in Goldsboro to create an integrated setting of the highest quality, the desegregation process itself revealed a strong community commitment to public education and a willingness to communicate and cooperate among those who participated.

The Goldsboro City school system enrollment numbered 6,569 students (including 140 special education students) in September, 1972. The system is housed in five elementary schools in the district, two contain grades one and two, one school houses grades three and four, another houses grades one through four, and one is a fifth grade school. One of the middle schools houses sixth and seventh graders, and the other seventh and eighth graders. Goldsboro High School West is for ninth graders, and Goldsboro High School East contains grades ten through twelve. The current school organization in Goldsboro is an outgrowth of the long process of change and reorganization to achieve desegregation in all of the district schools.

There are many in Goldsboro who are quick to point out that desegregation efforts extended back to 1965, when the Goldsboro City Board of Education adopted a "freedom of choice" plan for student attendance on May 12, 1965.[2] Although the

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[1] Information for this section is based upon a dissertation written by present Superintendent Dr. James A. Buie, central office files and interviews with district staff, students, parents, and community members.

[2] Goldsboro City Board of Education, "Official Minutes," (May 12, 1965).

Brown vs. Board of Education decisions[3] had been handed down by the United States Supreme Court in 1954 and 1955, Goldsboro, as most southern school districts, moved very slowly and reluctantly toward a unitary school system.

The initial freedom of choice plan implemented in Goldsboro during 1965-66 applied to grades one, seven, nine, and twelve. During the following two academic years, however, the plan was extended to include all grades, K-12. A letter from the United States Commissioner of Education, Francis Keppel, dated August 29, 1965, had stated:

> The plan submitted for the Goldsboro City Schools for the desegregation of its school system in compliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 has been reviewed by this office...You will alter Section II-A so that it will read as follows: 'Freedom of choice in all grades will be offered for 1966-67. Freedom of choice or geographic attendance areas will be the basis of assigning students starting with the 1967-68 school year and each year thereafter.'[4]

By 1968, about 650 black students were attending formerly all white schools under the freedom of choice plan. The expanded freedom of choice plan also characterized the district's desegregation efforts during the 1968-69 school year. However, in Green v. Kent County, Virginia (1968),[5] the Supreme Court defined a unitary school system as one "without a 'white' school and a 'Negro' school, but just schools," and the Court's Alexander decision (Obtober 1969)[6] set aside its previous "deliberate speed" doctrine, replacing it with a mandate that districts desegregate forthwith. These decisions accompanied by pressures from various agencies of the federal government struck at the

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[3] Brown v. Board of Education, 74 SCt 686 (1954) and Brown v. Board of Education, 75 SCt 753 (1955).

[4] Francis Keppel, United States Commissioner of Education, Letter of Correspondence, addressed to Dr. N. H. Shope, Superintendent, Goldsboro City Schools (August 29, 1965).

[5] Green v. Kent County Board of Education, 88SCt 1689 (1968).

[6] Alexander vs. Holmes County Board of Education, 1969.

inadequacies of freedom of choice plans in reducing segregation in southern schools. In a letter dated January 30, 1968, Lloyd Henderson, Education Branch Chief, Office for Civil Rights of the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare stated that unless the Goldsboro City Board of Education took additional steps to dismantle the dual school system, it would be declared in non-compliance with the requirements set forth under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

> Members of my staff indicated to you the areas of probable non-compliance during their recent onsite visit as follows: faculty desegregation, student desegregation, free choice failed to adequately desegregate your dual system, segregated busing patterns, and failure to implement specific assurances.[7]

Community Participation

The receipt of this information led the Goldsboro City Board of Education and Superintendent Jerry Paschal to seek solutions that would comply with Title VI of the Civil Rights Ace and desegregate the system without disruption, bitterness or violence. A 30-member Advisory Citizen Committee, representing a cross section of different groups and backgrounds, was formed to explore problems and concerns and to make viable recommendations reflective of the total community. Prominent community members, outspoken critics, and representatives of all racial and economic levels in the city served on this committee. About half of its representation was black. Furthermore, the Board of Education, faculties in all district schools, Parent Teacher Associations, and various community citizen groups held meetings to discuss ways of implementing a change that would create a unitary system but would not polarize the

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[7] Lloyd R. Henderson, Education Branch Chief, Office for Civil Rights, Letter of correspondence addressed to Jerry Paschal, Superintendent, Goldsboro City Schools, (January 30, 1968).

community. Teachers, administrators, parents, and community members attributed much of the success of desegregation processes in Goldsboro to the efforts of the Superintendent and Board of Education in creating forums for interaction and communication and establishing an atmosphere of openness and trust. The opportunities for discussion opened new avenues of communication between blacks and whites who had for generations been separated by an accepted status quo. Much contact was made "with whites and blacks actually going into each other's homes." The following commentaries are illustrative of feelings expressed by black parents and community members.

> What actually happened was that we decided that we were not going to compromise, but we found out that we were all individuals striving for the same thing. And most of us, I think, were very open and we talked it out. This is the one thing that I think helped the Goldsboro City Schools, that these things were actually talked out. We drank coffee, and ate doughnuts, and we talked about the things that bothered us. And I think this is why things have worked out as well as they have here.

> The process was very smooth due to our having a good Board at that time. The Chairman was a liberal man who did believe in equality. When this whole integration process was going on, they had open meetings for the general public. And usually before they acted, they solicited the feelings of both black and white. Private meetings were also held, but these open meetings were very important.

When speaking of factors that made desegregation a success, "need" was cited by one black community member.

> Sometimes to get what you want, you have to tie yourself to another person's need. And I think that is what has happened here. Whites who had to make decisions had a need to comply with the law and to desegregate Goldsboro without the system tearing itself apart. We had a need to see that our children's education would benefit. Together we worked things out.

A black businessman talked about the positive ramifications of open contact between groups where each group's problems could be brought out and everyone could

speak. He spoke of a white businessman located on the same street as his business establishment who is a Klansman. "In one meeting, he had his point and he spoke his opinion, and I spoke mine. And we came out of the meeting together, and we shook hands."

White parents and community members spoke no less enthusiastically of the positive results of meetings where free communication took place. When asked how the white community had been involved in desegregation activities, one white businessman replied:

> When there was a law of the land that said you must, and a court order that said you will, then the school administration went to the parents of the community. There were a number of meetings involving parents from all the schools in the system. They got them together to settle why this had to be done and then plan together. The parents felt they were part of the program. They felt like they had a little bit to say about what went on. I think this was the main factor that got us moving in the right direction. Integration wasn't a matter of when, but how.

One white parent stressed the advantage of a small town where people could be thrown together. "We knew each other. It wasn't as if we were strangers." Other parents spoke of being made to feel as if they were a part of the process. "The School Board wasn't just sitting up on a hill. There is a history of parents in the decision making here. We were all a part of it. It made us feel as if the School Board were interested in what we were interested in. So we had a common ground we were walking on. You've got a problem, we've got a problem." One white mother stated:

> One thing that meant so much to me as a mother was that before each individual decision they would call together a group of parents who were interested or who wanted to come, and they would discuss the problem. They would ask advice, opinions. It was open, free discussion. On one particular occasion we went home, and I thought there was no way on earth they could integrate a particular school without making every element of

> the community unhappy. It just cannot be done. When we returned for the meeting the following week, it was a stroke of genius what those men had come up with. I shall always admire and respect our school board and our city school system for the answers they came up with. It was fair. It might not have been what everyone would have liked, but it was fair.

Parents also spoke of Lay Communications Committees in each of the district's schools.

> The principal would select people for each school--parents from all economic levels, races, interests, and what have you. The first meetings were just unbelievable. There were people there I had never met. They were afraid; we were afraid. We were parents who were concerned. And at one meeting, seated across the table from me was a black lady who was just as concerned about her child as I was about mine. And that taught me a great deal not only about human relations but about spirituality as well. It will be a hundred years before what these people have done will be weighed and judged. People sat across from the table from each other, and were open, honest, and accepting. I'm grateful to the people who permitted this to happen.

Change and Reorganization

After carefully considering recommendations for change and reorganization, on April 10, 1968 the Goldsboro City Board of Education officially adopted a plan that called for only minor revisions in student assignment during the 1968-69 school year, but would completely desegregate grades 6-12 during the 1969-70 school year with freedom of choice maintained for all students in grades 1-5. All students in grades 9-12 were assigned to the predominantly white Goldsboro High School and Goldsboro Junior High School which became integrated high schools. Dillard, the black high school, and Carver, the black middle school, were converted to middle schools for all students in grades 6-8. A modified neighborhood school plan characterized the assignment of students in grades 1-5 so that the elementary schools remained predominantly all black or all white during the 1969-70 school year. The complete desegregation of grades 6-12 represented significant changes in the long

range planning of the Goldsboro City system and called for administrative rearrangements. During 1965, the Board had officially adopted the middle school concept of school organization for grades 6-8 and built a $1,000,000 structure next to the black high school which became Carver Middle School. Goldsboro Junior High School, which was next to the white high school, was to become a middle school for the white students. Many staff members felt, however, that the acceptance of the middle school concept made the total reorganization of the upper grades easier in Goldsboro since the system was already oriented toward organizational change.

On February 20, 1970, Leon E. Panetta, Director for the Office for Civil Rights, notified the Goldsboro City system that it was not in compliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 due to its failure to desegregate its elementary schools, and it was placed on a deferred list which blocked reception of any new federal funds. However, the system had already actively explored possible plans for the desegregation of the elementary schools. The Citizen's Advisory Committee proposed the creation of an educational park, with new facilities which would not be identified with either black or white neighborhoods. The Board considered such a proposal too costly, while they accepted it in principle, and set a target date of September, 1970 for the desegregation of all elementary school in the district. In August of 1970, a new desegregation plan was adopted which desegregated all schools in the system except one for the 1970-71 school year. This school remained an all black school housing grades 1-4. Although this plan was not approved by officials of HEW, it was implemented, and the system remained on the deferred list. The plan reflected the system's efforts to have the impact of desegregation shared equally by all white neighborhoods, and to keep the number of whites assigned to each of the schools above 40% of the school population. At th

time, the racial balance of the student population in Goldsboro was 46 percent white and fifty four percent black. Seven elementary schools had to be considered in affecting change. Three were all black schools, two were all white schools, and two were predominantly white schools which had achieved some degree of desegregation as a result of the freedom of choice options. Schools were zoned and paired according to district attendance boundaries in order to achieve desegregation. Cross-busing involved about 2000 students. Two of the all black schools were paired with an all white and a predominantly white school. One of the all white schools became an all system fifth grade. The location of the predominantly white school midway between a black and white residential area made it well suited for a neighborhood attendance area to achieve racial balance. One of the all black schools, School Street School, remained all black with a neighborhood attendance area that reflected its isolation within a large black neighborhood. The fact that the School Street School remained all black allowed the white population in the other elementary schools to be about 50% of the enrollment in each school.

Compliance with Federal Guidelines

During April, 1971, the Goldsboro City Board of Education adopted a plan acceptable to federal officials which called again for the reorganization of the elementary schools and closed two of them, Greenleaf, a school in the black community, and Virginia Street School, an all white school located in a transitional area. By September 1972, through total school and staff reorganization, the Goldsboro City School system had completely desegregated its schools and achieved a unitary system. The reorganization led to the following arrangements in the district schools.

Edgewood School	Grades 1 and 2
Walnut Street School	Grades 1 and 2
William Street School	Grades 1, 2, and 3
East End School	Grades 3 and 4
School Street School	Grade 5
Goldsboro Middle School South	Grades 6 and 7
Goldsboro Middle School North	Grades 7 and 8
Goldsboro High School West	Grade 9
Goldsboro High School East	Grades 10, 11, and 12

With the reorganization, Goldsboro was eligible for E.S.A.P. funds. A guidance counselor, Human Relations Director and a Pupil Assignment Director were hired with these funds. Twenty additional teacher assistants to work in the 4th and 5th grade levels were also hired. Older students, along with a supervising coordinator, were employed to act as safety patrols on corners where crowds gathered due to busing. The Superintendent pointed out, however, that while such funds are very important, their discontinuance in a district leaves a vacuum. Present Title I funding is directed toward a reading program for students in grades 4-8 who are reading 2 years below grade level. Under Title III, a "Community Development School" serves about 28 severely retarded pupils from the city and county. It is the first such school in North Carolina, and had previously been run by a volunteer Presbyterian group. Due to limitations in funding, the program does not serve about 20 other area children who should be enrolled.

DESEGREGATION ACTIVITIES

The district's adoptions of comprehensive desegregation plans beginning with grades 6-12 during the 1969-70 academic year were accompanied by planned activities reaching out to parents and community members, staff, and students. Fears and opposition to the plans were strong challenges to the preservation of a public school

system which might equally serve and represent both blacks and whites.

Members of the Citizens Advisory Committee actively supported the plans, interpreting them to various groups within the community. Churches provided forums for discussion and often heated debate. The district kept the local media fully informed during the desegregation process, and the city newspaper and one local radio station particularly supported the transition.

A series of Human Relations workshops were provided for staff members under the auspices of St. Augustines College in Raleigh and and North Carolina State University. These workshops were voluntary, beginning during 1968-69, and continuing during 1969-70 with close to 50% of the staff participating. There was very little arbitrary assignment of staff, and efforts were made to racially balance key administrative positions.

The doors of the four upper grade schools were thrown open on a Sunday afternoon during the spring of 1969 so that students and parents could acquaint themselves with the different buildings and facilities with the hope of eliminating false rumors about poor conditions in the schools. Interchanges involving representatives of Student Councils and Associations of these schools also took place during the spring of 1968, as students worked together on the development of new handbooks. A team of students from the all black middle school visited Goldsboro Junior High School, which was 20% black at that time, and vice versa. Departmental faculty at the middle school and high school levels met to discuss concerns and curricular offerings. Grade level meetings were held for staff at the elementary level.

Reactions to Desegregation

Reactions to desegregation reflected a wide range of opinions. Strong opposition to the plans emerged from fundamentalist churches, giving rise to private schools under their sponsorship. Many whites and blacks who stayed with the public school system in Goldsboro felt that much of the potential for bitter conflict was dissipated when the white opposition simply deserted the school system. One black stated, "The radicals just drained themselves off from the public school into private schools. They withdrew from the system." White flight meant a significant loss of white students in the enrollment of the Goldsboro City Schools. Table 1 indicates the number and percentage of white and black students in the Goldsboro City School system from 1964-65.

The flight of white students from the public schools remains a difficult reality in Goldsboro, and its history is revealing. Between 1962 and 1965, only 33 black students had enrolled in the white schools of Goldsboro. The adoption of freedom of choice plans resulted in 152 black students attending predominantly white schools in 1965-66, 272 in 1966-67, 499 in 1967-68, and 650 during 1968-69.

Table 1 shows that from 1964-65, the year immediately prior to freedom of choice, to 1968-69, the district lost a total of 598 white students. Surprisingly, the number of white students leaving the district during 1969-70, the year when total desegregation of the upper grades took place, was relatively small, only 75 students. However, during the next year, when all of the elementary schools except one were desegregated, white student enrollment dropped by 434 students. With the 1970-71 reorganization, 660 more white students left the system. An additional drop of 141 students

TABLE 1

THE NUMBER AND PERCENT OF WHITE AND BLACK STUDENTS
OF THE GOLDSBORO CITY SCHOOL SYSTEM
FROM 1964-65 - 1972-73 *

School Year	White Students	Black Students	Total	% of Whites	% of Blacks
1964-65	4,545	3,931	8,476	54	46
1965-66	4,321	4,116	8,437	51	49
1966-67	4,134	4,125	8,259	50	50
1967-68	4,065	4,198	8,263	49	51
1968-69	3,947	4,172	8,119	49	51
1969-70	3,872	4,367	8,239	47	53
1970-71	3,438	4,375	7,813	44	56
1971-72	2,778	3,802	6,580	42	58
1972-73	2,637	3,792	6,429	41	59

* These data were obtained from statistics prepared by the district and a study entitled "An Investigation and Analysis of Selected Characteristics of Students Who Withdrew from the Goldsboro City Schools System to Attend Independent Schools" by Supt. James A. Buie. Enrollment figures do not include special education students from the Goldsboro area who attend classes in the Goldsboro Schools.

occurred between May, 1972 and September, 1972 bringing the total number of white students leaving the system between 1964 and 1972 up to 1908 students. During the same years, black student enrollment did not change to any great degree, but the percentage went up.

Where the white students went must be asked. Census figures which show a decrease in the white population of Goldsboro and an increase in rural Wayne County provide some indication that some of the white flight went to the county. A survey conducted by the Goldsboro system on students enrolled for 1971-72 who did not report for 1972-73 showed that most of the students had gone to Wayne County schools or other school districts. However, one of the concomitant effects of desegregation in Goldsboro was the organization of three independent day schools, Faith Christian Academy, Goldsboro Christian School, and Wayne County Day School. These three schools have enrolled many whites formerly enrolled in the Goldsboro City Schools, and they have no black student enrollment. St. Mary's Roman Catholic School, established over fifty years ago, experienced an increase in white student enrollment during desegregation, but this school also has a few black students. The Buie Study showed that 750 of the 1,107 white students leaving the system between 1964 and 1971 enrolled in these independent schools, and these students were average or above in their academic achievement at the time they left the system.

White community members who were interviewed frequently talked of white flight as a major problem and emphasized their own belief in public education. Many of the whites in Goldsboro supported the public schools against much pressure from family and friends, and spoke of

difficulties and tensions they experienced when flight from the system characterized the actions of close friends and family relations. Desegregation caused social realignments in many instances. A businessman stated, "If you're going to stick with the public schools, and you're going to become involved, you'd better have a steel head and a steel heart, because you're going to get it from both sides." One mother noted that the absence of some whites in the city school system placed a particularly heavy burden on those whites left who would volunteer their time to the schools.

The loss in white student enrollment has hurt the system's morale and financial well being. In North Carolina, the allocation of certain state funds and most state-alloted teachers is based on the average daily attendance of each school unit's students. This has meant a loss in state funds and teachers for the Goldsboro system. Whites who were interviewed stressed that they continue to seek the support of those who oppose the public school's policies by praising the schools when talking to friends, and trying to correct rumors. It was their feeling that there was some movement back to the city schools, but no figures bear this out.

Issues and Concerns

The issues that emerged during desegregation reflected the fears, concerns, and doubts that accompany a change which redefines the social structure within a major institution. Some parents feared having their children attend schools which were located in black neighborhoods.

> -Well, first of all, just going to a school in the black community across town was upsetting. It was something you just had to get used to.
>
> -We just had never gone into the black community before. The hard thing was just going into the community and the building itself.
>
> -You have to change your attitude if you've been with integration a number of years, and have stuck with it and still believe in it. It's

> done a whole lot to us. I think that we've had to bite our lip, and put on sunglasses and go places that we thought we'd never enter into. I was scared to death the first time I took my child to Middle School and had to leave her there with all those black people I didn't know. Sure we were scared, but I'm a broader thinker, and I have a lot more compassion for a black child than I did before.

Another mother also described her original distress at the thought of sending her child to what had been an all black school prior to desegregation. When the school staff she respected went to that school, however, she sent her child with hesitation. When decisions were later being made to close the school, she was one of the members of a lay communications group fighting to keep it open. Her feelings had thus changed significantly after desegregation and she added, "I am thrilled to death my children have stayed in the public schools when family pressures were saying otherwise."

Busing was also a concern in the white community during desegregation. A white parent stated, "I think people were bitter all over town about having particularly small children bused so far from home where formerly they had been able to walk to school." Some whites expressed the view that black parents also did not like the busing. No blacks expressed this view, however.

Whites also had to adjust to having blacks teach their children. Two administrators felt that many parents seemed more concerned about the morals and mores of individual staff members who would teach their children than credentials. The parents who were interviewed did not express this as a present concern, however, and stated that their children had liked the black teachers they had had since desegregation.

During desegregation, whites also voiced opinions about the possible decline in the quality of education in the system. One mother stated, "We were particularly concerned about the lowering of the educational standards in the schools because of

the lesser quality education the blacks had received, and about putting black children together with white children to get black children to come up. We were fearful that this would bring the white children down."

This issue remains an expressed concern among some white parents who were interviewed. However, two studies conducted on student achievement in Goldsboro belie these fears. One study measured the achievement of pupils before and after two years of integration. Conducted cooperatively by the city school district and the Department of City and Regional Planning, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, the study analyzed the scores of 406 students who were in the second grade in Goldsboro in 1968-69 and remained through the fifth grade. Their scores on the Stanford Achievement Test (1964 edition) were compared with national norms at five different intervals of time in their school life. Students of both races showed above average growth.

In 1968, the average score for white students was five standard scores below the national norm in reading. At the end of the fifth grade, however, these students closed the gap and their average score was slightly above the national norm for fifth graders. During the same four years, black students were also coming closer to the national norm in reading, gaining 3.2 standard score points above their second grade average. Arithmetic scores also showed gains, but at a slower rate for both groups. The white students gained a 3.1 standard score and the black students gained a 2.9 standard score over the four year period in mathematics.

A second study was also longitudinal, testing 695 children when they entered the second grade in September, 1968 and again during March near the end of their third grade year. This study also showed that, on the whole, children at all ability

levels were progressing at a very positive rate of growth. By the time the second test was administered, 107 of the pupils had transferred out of the system. Of those remaining, 191 fewer pupils scored at a low level, 80 more made average scores than had done so previously, and four more children scored high in reading.[8]

For black parents and community members, concerns centered on the potential loss of institutions and traditions which were deeply rooted in their history and daily life in Goldsboro.

When the decline in the district's enrollment led to the decision to close the Greenleaf and Virginia Street Schools, the North End Branch of the Wayne Action Group for Economic Solvency mobilized and strongly opposed the closing of Greenleaf. While it was an old structure, Greenleaf was the center of community life in the black neighborhood where it was located. It served as a meeting place for the Boy and Girl Scouts, civic groups, community groups and churches, as well as night classes for adults. Fund raising socials and other events which brought people together took place at Greenleaf.

The North End WAGES branch become the articulating organ for blacks in that area during this crisis, but has played a lesser role in school affairs since that time. However, it has established adult education programs, provided summer jobs for students, and constructed parks and playgrounds for children. When the black community was assured that the facility would be available for all the activities except regular schooling, they accepted the decision. Today, such activities still

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[8] Report by Ethel W. Twiford, Guidance Coordinator, Goldsboro City Schools, "The Goldsboro City School System Reports on Academic Progress in the Primary Grades Since Integration."

take place at the school. A federally funded migrant program with an enrollment of 165 students operates out of Greenleaf as well as the Community Development School with an enrollment of 18 handicapped students, ages 5-18. The City Recreation Department and the North End Branch of WAGES are also housed there.

There was little white opposition to the closing of the Virginia Street School located on the fringes of white and black neighborhoods, and is over fifty years old. During the freedom of choice days, a small number of black children attended this school. Today, the building serves as a headquarters for WAGES, and houses a HEADSTART Program sponsored by WAGES through funding by OCD Region IV, Atlanta, Georgia. Also, the black congregation whose church recently burned is holding meetings in this building. Both structures are thus currently vital to daily life in Goldsboro.

A more symbolic issue among blacks when the upper grade schools merged was the loss of the name Dillard for their high school. The name Goldsboro Senior High School was changed to Goldsboro High School when the black and white high schools merged, and such names as Dillard and Carver were dissolved in the transition. Over the protests of blacks in the community, board members stated that the decisions to drop the names was based upon an unwritten law in which schools with names of persons would have to be changed. Dillard had been a minister and well known black leader in the State of North Carolina.

The most active opposition to the dissolution of the high school's name came from the Goldsboro chapter of the fifteen year old Greater Dillard Alumni Association. An unusually strong alumni organization, it is incorporated and national with chapters in New York, Philadelphia, Washington, and Baltimore. Yearly, the organization

provides scholarships for black students and gifts to the school. A ten year project resulted in the purchase of an organ which is now housed in Goldsboro High School. Several awards have been given to white students by the group since the high schools were desegregated. A scoreboard which had been previously purchased for Dillard High School was sold by the present School Board with alumni permission, and the proceeds were turned over to the physical education department in the desegregated high school.

Members of this group supported the May Homecoming Queen event with five to six hundred Dillard alumni returning each year. This was contrasted to the previous white high school which had no organized alumni group, and where Homecoming was a much less significant event. For such a proud organization, the dissolution of its name within the school system signified a great loss. One member stated, "We realize that three years ago the last person that would graduate in the name of Dillard graduated, and there will be no more Dillard alumni per se. For this reason, we had meetings and we fought for the name of Dillard because we felt it was an identity we wanted to hold onto."

The most recent proposal made to the Board by the alumni group was that the building which housed the former black high school and which now bears the name of Goldsboro Middle School be given the name Dillard Middle School. The Board considered the request, but it was voted down. To some members of the alumni group, this decision reflected a fear causing a reaction among the white community. One member stated, "We have had such a smooth merger, comparatively speaking, that they don't want to do anything to upset the apple cart. And they see this as a small thing." Another felt that "the basic objection of doing anything to bring Dillard

into the name of the school is that it would probably make whites dissatisfied. It would make some whites angry, and they would pull out of the school." While the district has not honored the group's request for a school name, it has sought to cooperate with the strong organization. The group has been allowed to use any facility owned by the schools and can go into the high school with applications." The guidance counselors worked with the students in getting them filled out. The teachers worked along with them, and they still cooperate with us in that way." Members of the alumni group are divided in their present views about the school name, however. Some feel it is a past issue while others continue to feel that much dissatisfaction lingers among black community members, and they wish to continue the fight for the return of "Dillard" to Goldsboro City Schools.

Desegregation and the District Staff

Desegregation also called for adjustments among black and white staff members in the district. In many instances, black and white teachers were faced with moving into buildings located in neighborhoods they had rarely or never entered and of teaching children of a different race for the first time in their lives. Principals had to leave buildings they had administered for years.

Desegregation plans were fully discussed at staff meetings in each school. The district gave careful consideration to the matter of staff assignment. Most teachers remained on their grade level, but teachers wishing to switch a grade were allowed to do so if a position were open. During 1969, the Goldsboro system had about an equal number of black and white staff. Administrators worked to divide them among the schools. While some staff members left the system or retired as a result of the rearrangements, there was no mass exodus. One factor contributing to the lack of dissension was that teachers moved to new situations as a staff rather than on an individual basis.

Following teacher assignment, principals were reassigned. Principals had not known about their reassignment, and many regretted having to leave the staff they had worked with.

Human relations workshops were held for students, teachers, and all of the administrators. Staff visitations between schools took place. Interviewed teachers cited the strong leadership of the Superintendent during the desegregation process as well as the positive results of having all segments of the community involved for planning purposes. A black teacher stated, "Groups of teachers, groups of students, groups of teachers and students, and groups of parents all met. It was an open communicative process. Everybody had a chance to express himself. Another black teacher felt that a positive theme had permeated the process and added "there was so much faith in the Superintendent and the steering committee that everyone went into it with positive faith."

Apprehension was felt on both sides, however. Black teachers felt they had been portrayed as coming from inferior schools with inferior materials, and felt a responsibility to prove they could hold their own in any teaching situation. Most of them felt that desegregation definitely improved the conditions under which they were expected to teach. When they talked about the segregated system, they spoke of extra demands being made on their time, and never having such things as "breaks." One teacher felt that the past two years in the desegregated system had been the best she had had in twenty-five years of teaching, and stated there was more pressure placed on black teachers under segregation. A black middle school teacher stated:

> Well, I think the black teacher has had so many things to face in the school in the past. We had to accept the fact that we had any number of grades to teach at one time, 4th through seventh grade. We've had all the problems anyone would be faced with, and I think we were able to accept integration much better than the whites, and are still accepting it much better.

Both black and white teachers also cited the inconvenience of "having to drive across town" after reassignment. For some white teachers, the inconvenience was coupled with a fear of driving through neighborhoods they had always viewed as poverty stricken and as sources of crime. As stated by one teacher, "We had to come through a certain area that we read about in the paper as a place where all the shooting and everything was happening. You feel apprehensive about it. You're concerned about what you hear. It's not the most desirable neighborhood." Fear of these neighborhoods was no longer expressed by the white teachers who were interviewed insofar as driving through them to get to school. However, they still regarded driving a distance an inconvenience.

Overall, the preparation during desegregation focused on facilitating communication and interaction. Interviews with staff members who participated in the human relations workshops had mixed reactions about them. Some felt that they became repetitive. Others felt they could only have limited impact. They did provide initial forums for discussion, however, and in some cases led to more meaningful daily interchanges. Departmental meetings also provided opportunities for interaction. One administrator stated:

> Departments had started to work together to see what was being taught in each of the high schools, and there were two-way visitations within the departments. We understood that we were going to be working together sooner or later. And the sooner we got down to the business of getting what we were going to do, the better. Now if there was any resentment about what we were going to do, it didn't come out at those meetings. In fact, they ran so smoothly that it didn't seem as if we were making a transition. And the teachers had more to do with that than anything else. The Superintendent's Office organized the meetings, and then let us carry on ourselves. If it had looked as if they were forcing things, it might not have been so palatable. The general attitude that prevailed was that this was going to happen, and if you didn't want to get caught out there on a limb, you'd better get together. But they didn't push it.

Another administrator felt department meetings had limited effects on how people related to one another.

> Department meetings didn't get people to intermingle. Business would be conducted and then people would separate. That first year, there was more of a tolerance between people than anything else. There was no open hostility shown. You could just tell how things were during lunch break. The black teachers would get together in the lounge, and the white teachers would get together in the lounge, and there was very little integration before Christmas. Then we organized a bowling team and started bowling together, and the team started getting together at lunch. Things started moving better after that.

Following the human relations workshops, the district provided Glasser Workshops, based upon the text, Schools Without Failure. These workshops explored teacher philosophies, attitudes, and techniques, and allowed for a very practical focus upon instruction. Teachers felt that in some instances, these workshops also brought black and white staff members closer to mutual understanding as they discussed common concerns and learned new ways of addressing them in the classroom.

THE STUDENTS OF GOLDSBORO

The dynamics of desegregation in Goldsboro involved purposeful strategies for generating support among community and staff members, but in the final analysis, the students of Goldsboro must be viewed as the central characters in the transition from segregation to desegregation. While some students took part in interschool visitations and projects immediately prior to desegregation, most did not, and must be viewed as the recipients of the change rather than activie participants in its formulation. For many of them, the changes were accompanied by anxieties, doubts, and hostilities that had been spawned during years of separation.

Forty black and white students were interviewed separately in small groups by the research team. These students were from Goldsboro Middle School North and both of the high school buildings, and represented a wide range of academic achievement and success in the school system. The interviews provided many insights into the issues that concerned students as a result of desegregation. Black students said they had had mixed feelings about the dismantling of their black schools prior to desegregation. While their parents spoke to them of better educational opportunities with desegregation, the students themselves were concerned about the status they would have in the newly merged schools. A few of them who had attended Goldsboro Junior High School under the freedom of choice plan spoke of having felt shunned by their white classmates at that time. One girl stated, "Before I came to this school, I was at Goldsboro Junior High, and there were only two blacks in my classroom, and we felt totally outcast. We were allowed to participate, but they kind of shunned us away. But when the schools became integrated, those people who had shunned us away began to try to be my friends. You could just tell the difference."

Black students' main fear focussed on their ability to achieve in a desegregated schools. Black teachers in the segregated schools generally impressed upon them the need to "adjust" and to learn how to get along with white students. Some teachers gave the black students the impression that white students were smarter than blacks. Three of the black students made the following comments.

> We were expecting them to be geniuses. You know, we were told that when the white kids came to class, we shouldn't say anything, just work. But they can be just as dumb as anyone else. Just as dumb and just as much trouble.
>
> Just before the schools were integrated, I was in the sixth grade. And the next year, the school was going to be integrated. So the

> teacher used to tell us 'y'all better come on and get on the ball because you don't want those white kids to be showing you up,' like the white kids were so smart, you know. And like we were so dumb.
>
> They were always saying that white kids were smart because they had better facilities, more books, and everything.

When black students compared their experiences in the desegregated setting to those in the all black schools, most of them stated that they had felt more comfortable in the all black schools. Much of this had to do with the sense of recognition and attention they had received from the teachers. They generally felt that they had found it easier to learn because teachers took more time to explain things to them in the all black schools. One boy stated, "even if black kids are smart and come to integrated schools, they still need teachers to pay attention to them."

The students stated that they felt that black teachers in the formerly black schools did not show favoritism toward students from higher social backgrounds. In contrast, they stated that in the desegregated schools both black and white teachers appear to give more attention to students whose parents are of a higher social class, giving inadequate attention to students from poor families. In their opinion, this caused many lower class students to lose interest in school.

In dealing with their peers and with teachers in the desegregated setting, black students continually referred to the need for respect. Quite often they would state, "it seems like all white people think blacks are dumb." They were also bothered by instances where black teachers were overly tolerant of white students' misbehavior, and were treated with disrespect by the white students. Their feelings about white teachers varied with individual teachers, but they felt that some gave preferential treatment to whites.

Most of the white students' concerns grew out of actual fear of association with large numbers of blacks. Students who were in the middle school when the upper grades had been desegregated told of hearing stories about white students being beaten up by blacks at the high schools.

> When we were in the eighth grade, every day we'd hear these terrible stories - somebody's getting murdered in the hall. None of this was ever true, but it just got blown up to be. So we came over here wondering what was going to happen to us, and nothing ever did. Of course, we had plenty of fighting going on in our own school, but somehow it was the stories that got to us.

When total desegregation did occur, much fighting did take place between black and white students. White students spoke to the interviewers of black groups ganging up on whites, and the black students spoke of white students ganging up on blacks. However, the fights were stressed more by the white students who were interviewed. Relaxed tensions and strict disciplinary measures against fighting have greatly reduced the number of fighting incidents in Goldsboro schools, however. Both black and white students feel that very few fights occur anymore. One white high school student stated that a lot of the fear that white students had at the time of desegregation was caused by over-reacting to things. "If someone in the hall pushed you, it got to be racial," claimed one white student. Another white student stated:

> Well, this was before everyone knew each other real well. And you know, with the smarties of both groups, black and white, there's gonna be trouble at first anyway. But I believe the majority of blacks and whites who caused trouble are gone from this school now.

The school district sought to ensure adequate representation of both blacks and whites on Student Councils or Associations in the upper grades by having a black and white representative from each homeroom. These might serve together or alternate,

depending upon the school's policy. Situations which were based upon open choice or election provided some difficulties. Cheerleading at the high school was a problem until a rule was set that there would be six black and six white cheerleaders. This is interpreted by some white students as being unfair, however, as the choice is not based solely upon ability.

At the formerly white high school, "Stunt Night" had been a tradition involving original skits by the competing classes. The first year of desegregation, it remained a nearly all white activity, and black students were upset because what was involved had not been explained to them. Today black and white students equally participate in the competition, and both groups identified the activity as an example of when separation between the races had broken down.

In the selection of the Homecoming Queen at the high school, nominations of both black and white candidates come from the Student Council which has equal black and white representation. The total student bodies of both high school buildings vote for the queen. During the first year of desegregation, the Homecoming Queen was black, the second year white, and the last two years black. White students feel that this is because black students are now in the majority.

Only two major instances of conflict were cited by the students after desegregation took place. Tensions and hostilities rose to the surface one day at the high school when derogatory statements about blacks had been painted on the high school steps the night before. This caused a walkout by some of the black students and some fighting among students. Tempers calmed after a day, however.

The other incident occured when the white Band Director was attacked by black students (reportedly not students in the Goldsboro system) at a night football

game. Although black students from the Band came to his rescue, the incident touched off fighting at the game, and some groups of black students caused disturbances in the town. The School Board considered suspending all night games. However, black students appeared before the Board with the assurance that no such disturbances would occur again, and that problems would be resolved peacefully in the future. Because of their appearance, night games were not suspended, but stricter regulations were imposed.

These instances briefly provide some insight into the nature of student concerns as they came together in a desegregated setting. Although the data which has been presented is not exhaustive, it should provide a broad sketch of the Goldsboro City School system as it moved through a difficult period of change. A fuller description of student interaction and attitudes after desegregation will be presented in Part III.

PART III

THE OUTCOME OF DESEGREGATION

GOLDSBORO TODAY

SCHOOL AND STAFF RACIAL BALANCE

By September, 1972, desegregation had been achieved in all Goldsboro schools, and the district was ready to address itself to the challenge of providing quality education in these schools. While statistics alone cannot reflect the quality of education or interaction in a desegregated setting, they do reveal a district's initial efforts to achieve racial balance, and they provide some indications of the possibilities for equal status in such settings. Table 2 shows the statistical results of the district's reorganization in terms of the number and percentages of black and white students and teachers in each of the district schools, and the number of black or white administrators in each school.

(See Table 2 next page.)

In light of the district student ratio of 59% black and 41% white, Table 2 shows that each school closely approximates this ratio, and is thus racially balanced. The largest differences are in the William Street and Edgewood Schools where there are 6% differences from the district ratio.

Staffing patterns also show an almost equal number of whites and blacks in most schools, and administrative positions have been equally distributed among blacks and whites. At the central office level, the Superintendent is white and there are two Assistant Superintendents, one white and one black. The Guidance Director is black, and the audio visual coordinator and Title I Director are white. The district's Follow Through program is staffed by seven teachers, ~~three black and four white.~~ The present Board has four whites and three blacks. This Board is appointed by the County Board, but the nominations of the Superintendent have never been questioned. It is probable that in the near future, the Goldsboro Board of Education will be elected by vote rather than appointed. Some blacks feel that changing to an elected Board

TABLE 2

STUDENT AND STAFF RACIAL COMPOSITION IN
GOLDSBORO CITY SCHOOLS
1972-73*

	Students				Teachers				Administrators	
	Number		Percentage		Number		Percentage		Number	
	B	W	B	W	B	W	B	W	B	W
School										
William Street	634	339	65	35	17	15	53	47	0	1
Edgewood	183	163	53	47	6	7	46	54	1	0
Walnut Street	160	100	62	38	4	5	44	56	1	0
East End	224	150	54	46	10	9	54	46	0	1
School Street	362	220	62	39	8	10	44	56	0	1
Goldsboro Middle School South	452	352	56	44	18	13	59	41	1	1
Goldsboro Middle School North	496	358	58	42	14	18	43	57	1	1
Goldsboro High School West	351	236	60	40	10	12	45	55	0	1
Goldsboro High School East	929	720	56	44	22	28	44	56	2	1
Totals	3792	2637	59	41	109	117	48	52		

* The above figures represent a total student enrollment of 6429. Not included are 140 special education students from the Goldsboro area, most of whom are black. They bring the system wide enrollment up to 6569.

is a white strategy. One businessman stated:

> They sold us the idea of having an elected Board--choose your own man--but you need money to get votes and most blacks will have to depend on white money. And if they put up the money, they'll dictate the program. It's just not as glossy as it looks to have an elected board.

THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

Figures of the racial breakdown of all classes at the elementary level show no white or all black classes, and except for a few instances, classes reflect the total school ratios. In terms of numbers, students are thus provided with ample opportunities to interact in their classes with members of a different race. The fifteen educable and two trainable special education classes are predominantly black, and two of them are all black. The district provides speech therapy services, guidance services, health services, as well as psychological and social services.

Reading specialists and teacher assistants are utilized in the elementary grades to assist teachers in giving more individual help to students. The teacher assistants are an integrated group, and in most cases a teacher will have an assistant of a different race. Twenty-one Follow Through classes provide special programs to meet individual student needs. Diagnostic testing in reading and mathematics occurs for grades three, four, and five during the second week of school, and teachers use results to individualize instruction for the students. Reading readiness tests are given to Goldsboro first graders during the fall, and third and fourth graders take achievement tests in mathematics and reading during the spring.

Race and sex are taken into consideration when students are assigned to elementary classes, so that they are balanced in these respects. Classes are grouped heterogeneously

in terms of ability, but teachers regroup homogeneously within their classes for reading and mathematics. Both black and white teachers state that regrouping results in segregated patterns.

No particular groupings are used for social studies or art and music which are taught by regular teachers. It is the policy of the district to have students alternate between black and white teachers. In some instances, two teachers operate as a team, and in these cases, one is usually black and one is white.

Recent Glasser workshops have focussed much effort on instructional techniques for students with divergent abilities. In the elementary classes which were observed, instruction varied greatly, but methods were related to individualization and continuous progress techniques. Modified team teaching and small group activities appeared to be characteristic methods. Advanced classes are provided for gifted students, and crafts classes for underachievers. These classes are racially mixed.

In the observed classes, whether student seating was prescribed by the teacher or by free choice, students were in racially mixed groups. Friendly interaction between black and white students was observed in classrooms and on playgrounds. Both black and white teachers also spoke of friendships and home visits among black and white children. Classrooms were attractive with carpeted interest areas in many cases, rich with a variety of materials. Reading labs were well equipped and were comfortably arranged to provide a pleasant atmosphere.

Both black and white teachers spoke of their difficulties in teaching students with widely ranging needs and abilities. Many of the children having the most difficulty are black, and teachers cited the poor backgrounds of these students as a major factor in their academic problems. Some felt the district's Follow Through program was

helpful, but most teachers indicated that somehow more had to be done throughout the elementary years. With classes that average thirty to thirty-five students, teachers felt they weren't able to spend enough time with children who needed much daily help in the classroom. While aides assist teachers in many classes, the burden of instruction falls on the teacher. Although the teachers appear to be optimistic about the children they teach, some expressed frustration at the slow progress of some students.

What was most lacking in the elementary program in Goldsboro was a planned and consistent integration of multi-ethnic topics into the curriculum. While some basal texts have pictures portraying different ethnic groups, black teachers felt that their stories about black families are highly contrived, and black children cannot identify with them. Pictures and posters on bulletins and walls in some classrooms reflected a concern for ethnicity, but a variety of multi-ethnic materials does not exist, and conscious efforts are not being made to initiate change in this area.

CLASSROOM DESEGREGATION AND STUDENT ACTIVITIES IN THE UPPER GRADES

In this study, classroom desegregation in the upper grades is examined as a factor which reveals academic status positions between black and white students in terms of the levels of classes to which they are assigned. Also revealed is the extent to which possibilities for classroom interaction between blacks and whites exist as reflected in the racial balance of such classrooms.

Goldsboro Middle School North

At Goldsboro Middle School North, 59% of the students are black and 41% white. Students are grouped homogeneously according to test scores and teacher

recommendations. In mathematics and language arts, this results in four coded groupings: G-high, M-middle, S-low, C-very low. Social studies and science break down into two grouping levels. The effects of grouping on classroom racial balance for students in the eighth grade are illustrated in Tables 3-6. Table 3 shows that the highest percentages of black students in the language arts area are in the low and very low groupings. Conversely, the majority of the white students are in the middle to high academic groupings. (See Table 3, p. 41.)

The picture is similar for the 8th grade mathematics classes at Goldsboro Middle School North. The majority of the black students are in low and very low homogeneous groupings while the highest percentages of white students can be found in the middle to high level classes. Table 4 shows the breakdown for each of the mathematics classes. (See Table 4, p. 42.)

Social studies and science classes break down into two levels: high-middle and low. While black students are certainly represented in the upper level classes, the largest percentages of black students in both social studies and science are found in the lower level classes. Tables 5 and 6 illustrate the ratios for each of the social studies and science classes. (See Tables 5 and 6, pp. 43 and 44, respectively.)

Physical education classes are balanced at Middle School North as well as Beginning Band and Advanced Band classes. One hundred and five black students and eighty-eight white students are enrolled in the band. Interviews with white parents revealed that there has been a conscious effort by whites to integrate the band at this level so that the present situation of a nearly all black high school band will be changed in the very near future. Close to 80% of the students have elected to take a career education course offered at the middle school, and these

TABLE 3

Goldsboro Middle School North
Eighth Grade Language Arts Classes
1972-73

Class	No. of Whites	No. of Blacks	Total	% of Blacks
Language Arts G	34	7	41	17
	30	11	41	27
	21	18	39	46
Language Arts GM	18	16	34	49
	18	17	35	49
	15	20	35	59
	14	19	33	60
	4	9	13	70
Language Arts S	8	22	30	73
	6	18	24	75
	6	20	26	77
	6	21	27	78
	5	22	27	81
	4	19	23	83
	4	23	27	85
Language Arts C	7	13	20	65
	4	19	23	83
Reading S	9	13	22	59
	4	15	19	79
	3	13	16	81
	0	16	16	100
Reading Lab	3	7	10	70
	3	8	11	73
	3	8	11	73
	3	9	12	75
	2	9	11	82
	2	9	11	82
	2	10	12	83
	2	11	13	85
	2	11	13	85
	1	7	8	88
	1	9	10	90
	1	9	10	90
	1	10	11	91
	1	11	12	92
	0	10	10	100

G - High M - Middle S - Low C - Very Low

TABLE 4

Goldsboro Middle School North
Eighth Grade Mathematics Classes
1972-73

Class	No. of Whites	No. of Blacks	Total	% of Blacks
Mathematics G	31	3	34	9
	34	6	40	15
Mathematics GM	20	16	36	44
Mathematics M	21	14	35	40
	19	15	34	44
	18	17	35	49
	18	18	36	50
	17	19	36	52
Mathematics S	9	21	30	70
	9	23	32	72
	8	23	31	74
	8	24	32	75
	6	23	29	79
	7	26	33	79
Mathematics C	8	23	31	74
	7	25	32	74
	7	25	32	78
	6	25	31	81

G - High M - Middle S - Low C - Very Low

TABLE 5

Goldsboro Middle School North
Eighth Grade Social Studies Classes
1972-73

Class	No. of Whites	No. of Blacks	Total	% of Blacks
Social Studies GM	21	2	23	9
	22	15	37	41
	21	16	37	43
	19	15	34	44
	19	15	34	44
	19	16	35	46
	15	15	30	50
	18	18	36	50
	17	19	36	53
	12	18	30	60
Social Studies S	3	23	26	64
	8	24	32	75
	6	26	32	81
	6	26	32	81
	6	26	32	81
	5	24	29	83
	4	28	32	88

GM - Middle-High S - Low

TABLE 6

Goldsboro Middle School North
Eighth Grade Science Classes
1972-73

Class	No. of Whites	No. of Blacks	Total	% of Blacks
Science GM	25	2	27	7
	25	3	28	11
	13	2	15	13
	19	6	25	24
	22	8	30	27
	25	12	37	32
	18	9	27	33
	13	22	35	63
	9	25	34	74
Science S	9	23	32	72
	8	22	30	73
	6	24	30	80
	6	26	32	81
	4	27	31	87
	3	28	31	90
	2	29	31	94

GM - Middle-High S - Low

classes are racially balanced.

An intramural program exists at the school for boys and girls, but students who participate in it are predominantly black. The school is the former Dillard High School and is located in a black community. White students are bused in, and teachers and administrators felt that the lack of white participation in after-school sport activities is the necessity for parents to pick the students up after school. This view was also expressed by white students who spoke with some regret of the transportation problem. One boy stated:

> I lost out in after-school activities cause I live six miles from here, and I have to ride a bus. And usually my mother doesn't come pick me up unless I stay after school for something. So I miss all the intramural sports that are held after school.

When walking through the halls of Goldsboro Middle School North, one gets a definite impression of the separation of the races. A corridor separating two wings serves as a gathering place for black students, and outside the building during lunch periods students gather in groups that are almost all white or all black. In the cafeteria, students sit with their own race except for a few individuals. Ethnic groups also fell into sections of the cafeteria so that one side and along the back was black, and the front and the other side was white. Students pointed this fact out and stated that blacks and whites almost never mingled at lunch. They didn't feel that this was due to any open hostility, however. One white student stated:

> I'm friends with a lot of black people, but my best friends are white, and usually you want to sit with them and talk with them while you eat lunch. It's not a conscious thing about - hey I want to sit with him, he's white, you know. It's 'I wanna sit with this guy because he's my friend.'

Both the black and white students who were interviewed spoke of interracial friendships they had with particular individuals, but rarely were these friendships

continued after school hours. Some of the whites felt that their black friends behaved differently when they were in a group with blacks.

> We don't have any trouble except when she gets with her friends and they don't like her being around a white girl. We get along real well when we're by ourselves. She tells me her problems. I think she trusts me more than some of her black friends.

> When he's around me, he's real nice, but when he's with his friends, he's different. It's strange.

The black students at the Middle School felt that whites in a group give the impression of ignoring blacks.

> There is not much mixing between the white students and blacks because most of them don't want to have anything to do with you. They think they are better than you are.

> Sometimes if you are a friend of a white girl, and you speak to them, sometimes they will speak to you and sometimes they won't.

Except for intramurals, there are no after-school activities. Black students felt this was because white students wouldn't come due to transportation problems. There is a Student Council with two representatives from each homeroom, one black and one white, who serve alternate semesters. The representatives elect a president each semester. During the 1972-73 school year, the president had been white the first semester, and one of his best friends, a black student, was elected president the second semester.

The students did not feel that school activities brought them together with the exception of a stocking drive at Christmas where they described great participation by all students, black and white. The whites also indicated that they felt less secure aroung blacks as they got older, especially if they were threatened. They added, however, that they thought that blacks and whites who start going to school together from the first grade are much better off. "We were just thrown together.

All of a sudden, go to school together. We'll bus you eight miles, and you go to school together."

In a separate section of the Middle School, three teachers operate as a team with 94 students divided into top, middle, and bottom groups. The classes meet in three spacious, open, carpeted rooms: one for mathematics and science, one for language arts, and the third for social studies. The rooms are very attractive, and the atmosphere seems relaxed. Students sit where they want at tables arranged around the room. They are assigned to groups on the basis of performance on achievement tests and teacher recommendations. During a visit to the rooms, an interviewer noted that students, for the most part sat with students of their own ethnic group. There were many instances of friendly interaction between black and white students, however.

Data on student ratios in the classrooms of Goldsboro Middle School North reveal some degree of segregation in academic subjects where the majority of the black students are assigned to lower level classes. Equal status relationships in terms of academic assignment is not yet a reality, and this has an effect upon the nature of relationships and attitudes that develop. Many staff members are aware of this problem. Equally lacking, however, is a curriculum conceptualized to help erase myths and provide an initial basis for recognizing the nature of the black experience in the United States. Neither black nor white students at Goldsboro Middle School North could talk about anything they had learned in the classroom about the black experience or the contributions of blacks as a consistent part of history. One white student felt that black students didn't like it if you talked about blacks. Another white student said:

> I don't remember talking about anything. We didn't observe anything about Black History Week; I wouldn't have known it existed unless I had already known. There isn't any emphasis at all. We just study North Carolina.

Staff members told the interviewers that a prescribed state curriculum existed in social studies. In 7th grade, Africa, Asia, and the Pacific Islands are covered. North Carolina, and the United States heritage is covered in the eighth grade. Some staff members seemed to feel that the use of a prescribed curriculum excluded the possibilities for considering elements of black history. The school library of 9,000 volumes is also lacking in books which relate to the black experience. The library contains the Negro Heritage Library collection, about twelve books on black history, a few biographies, and a series of booklets focusing on true stories of blacks in various careers. The librarian stated that neither teachers nor students used the books that were available, and her requests to teachers for suggestions got no responses.

The data presented indicates some areas for concern at Goldsboro Middle School North. One has to remember, however, how far this school has come in its efforts to achieve desegregation and to recognize the needs of both black and white students. Nevertheless, the tasks that now exist are equally as difficult as those which set the present situation in motion.

Goldsboro High School East and West

English classes are not rigidly grouped for ninth graders at Goldsboro High School West. Students taking Latin and French end up in the same classes due to scheduling, however, and only 15 of the 87 students electing a foreign language are black. Table 7 shows that the classroom breakdown of blacks and whites in ninth grade English classes varies considerably. One class is totally black, and the reading classes are predominantly black

TABLE 7

Goldsboro High School West
Ninth Grade English Classes
1972-73

Class	No. of Whites	No. of Blacks	Total	% of Blacks
English	27	9	36	25
	20	8	28	29
	19	16	35	46
	18	16	34	47
	16	15	31	48
	16	15	31	48
	9	9	18	50
	16	16	32	50
	15	17	32	53
	11	23	34	68
	10	21	31	68
	8	19	27	70
	9	23	32	72
	7	20	27	74
	9	26	35	74
	8	25	33	76
	7	24	31	77
	3	12	15	80
	5	21	26	81
	0	14	14	100
Reading	4	17	21	81
	5	22	37	81

The English program at Goldsboro High School East consists of many nine-week elective courses. Levels exist within this elective program, however, and while students may select courses they want, a tracking system is operating in actuality. An examination of the results of student assignment for the first nine weeks of the 1972-73 academic year revealed about 15 classes which were all or nearly all black or white. Two of these classes were entitled "Negro Writers", a course which whites have traditionally avoided. Very little about blacks is covered in other English offerings, and the teacher of the "Negro Writers" elective felt that this 9-week elective was an inadequate survey of black literature. Interviews with teachers and administrators revealed that other instances of segregation in English classes reflected the fact that either by choice or teacher recommendation, black students were consistently electing to take less demanding courses.

As would be expected, mathematics classes in the two high schools reflect the grouping patterns established at the middle schools with the majority of whites in the more advanced classes. Table 8 (p. 51) illustrates that most of the black students in the ninth grade are in General Math classes while most of the white students are in Algebra classes. Table 9 (p. 52) reveals that while many of the High School East mathematics classes are well integrated, few black students are found in Advanced Math or advanced Algebra and Calculus classes.

Science classes are heterogeneously grouped at the ninth grade level and Table 10 (p. 53) indicates that this results in classroom integration. Table 11 (p. 54) shows that at High School East, Biology classes are for the most part well balanced racially, but few blacks are found in Advanced Biology, Chemistry, or Physics courses.

TABLE 8

Goldsboro High School West
Ninth Grade Mathematics Classes
1972-73

Class	No. of Whites	No. of Blacks	Total	% of Blacks
General Math	9	13	22	59
	10	20	30	67
	6	22	32	69
	8	20	28	71
	8	21	29	72
	7	19	26	73
	6	18	24	75
	7	22	29	76
	3	11	14	79
	5	19	24	79
	5	24	29	83
	0	14	14	100
Algebra Preparation	13	13	26	50
	13	15	28	54
	11	17	28	61
	8	16	24	67
	7	18	25	72
Algebra I	14	5	19	26
	16	6	22	27
	15	7	22	28
	12	6	18	33
	16	8	24	33
Algebra IA	17	2	19	11
	16	2	18	11

Algebra I and IA use the same book, but IA is more accelerated.

TABLE 9

Goldsboro High School East
Grades 10-12 Mathematics
1972-73

Class	No. of Whites	No. of Blacks	Total	% of Blacks
Intermediate Math	19	3	22	14
	14	26	40	65
	6	15	21	71
	6	19	25	76
	5	17	22	77
	5	28	33	85
	4	26	30	87
	4	28	32	88
	4	31	35	89
Consumer Math	6	15	21	71
Advanced Math A	16	3	19	16
Advanced Math B	29	1	30	3
	21	5	26	19
Algebra Preparation	4	8	12	66
Algebra I	19	8	27	30
	18	13	31	42
	16	13	29	45
	15	14	29	48
	9	19	38	50
	13	14	27	52
	10	18	28	64
Algebra II	21	3	24	13
	26	6	32	18
	21	7	28	25
	17	6	23	26
	26	10	36	28
	23	9	32	28
	15	7	22	32
Geometry	24	8	32	25
	26	9	35	26
	19	7	26	27
	21	12	33	36
	17	10	27	37
	20	12	32	44
	11	10	21	48
Calculus	11	1	12	8

TABLE 10

Goldsboro High School West
Grade 9 Science Classes
1972-73

Class	No. of Whites	No. of Blacks	Total	% of Blacks
Science	14	7	21	33
	17	11	28	39
	16	17	33	52
	15	16	31	52
	16	17	33	52
	14	18	32	56
	13	18	31	58
	12	19	31	61
	10	17	27	63
	11	19	30	63
	11	20	31	65
	10	20	30	67
	10	21	31	68
	9	21	30	70
	9	22	31	71
	8	20	28	71
	8	22	30	73
	6	23	29	79

TABLE 11

Goldsboro High School East
Grades 10-12 Science
1972-73

Class	No. of Whites	No. of Blacks	Total	% of Blacks
Biology	23	6	29	21
	22	7	29	24
	18	11	29	38
	16	12	28	43
	14	15	29	52
	13	15	28	54
	14	18	32	56
	11	14	25	56
	10	13	23	57
	13	17	30	57
	11	19	30	63
	7	13	20	65
	9	19	28	68
	9	19	28	68
	8	18	26	69
	2	5	7	71
	7	19	26	73
Advanced Biology	21	1	22	5
Physical Science	13	20	33	61
Chemistry	21	4	25	16
	30	6	36	16
	24	5	29	17
	14	9	23	39
Physics	15	0	15	0

Students are not tracked at either high school in the social studies area and most classes in both buildings are well integrated. Civics and geography are offered to ninth graders. At High School East, a year of U.S. Heritage is required and a few electives are offered. One of these electives is black history with two classes totaling 51 black students. This course is divided into topical sections, the first being an African Heritage unit. Conditions and life styles in early Africa are explored followed by the period of contact with Europeans and Arabs, the beginning of the slave trade, and an analytical study of the institution of slavery. This is followed by a unit entitled "Age of Accommodation" which covers the period from Booker T. Washington to the Harlem Renaissance. The final unit is entitled "Black Awareness" where the various aspects of the Civil Rights movement are studied and compared to the black revolutionary movement. The teacher of this course pointed out that very little about blacks is covered in the regular curriculum, and "Black History made the students more aware of the missing links." He did feel, however, that "there is more of a trend here to incorporate more and more black history into the mainstream, but teachers are not qualified to do a good job." He cited a mini-course in his department called "Famous Persons" where a lot of blacks are mentioned.

The teacher of the black history course stated that since the course was first offered at the time of desegregation, only four white students had enrolled. He added that he had learned from the mother of one of these students during the first year of desegregation that school administrators at that time had tried to discourage her daughter from taking the course. The teacher added:

> I think as far as black history is concerned, the white community, or at least the whites of influence tend to think of it as a race history, a racist history rather than an intellectual pursuit. I try to instill a sense of race pride, but at the same time, I'm trying to fill a void in American History because our contemporary teachers and textbooks just don't have it in there at all.

Black students resent the fact that white students do not have to learn about black history. One girl stated:

> I enjoy the course because it has made me aware of the things that ordinarily I would never have become aware of like black contributors. What I wish is that some of the white kids would take it. In the first of the year we had a few whites in the class, and the next day they were out. Why? I don't know. If they would take it, they would respect us more. It would show them that we have come from somewhere and we are going somewhere.

One black student also complained that many of the black students do not take the course seriously.

> The thing that struck me is that in my class everyone in there is just taking it like an extra course. They don't have any enthusiasm over it. They just get in there and hope that the teacher passes out a passing grade. And it is kind of hard for me to go in there and want to do my best when the others are just goofing off. They just take it as a fifth course, but actually it is a hard course.

—Tables 12 (p. 57) and 13 (p. 57) show that health and physical education classes are well integrated for both boys and girls at Goldsboro High School West. This is equally true at the East building. Music activities at the East building are predominantly black. The Mixed Chorus has 56 black students and 13 white students, and the Touring Choir consists of 69 black students and nine white, and the Choral Director is black. After desegregation, the Goldsboro High School Band became an all black activity under the direction of the black director who had led the band at Dillard. This director has left the system for a college position, however, and the present director is white. For the 1972-73 academic year, the roster of 60 band members included 15 white students. The Band has two white and six black majorettes. Members of High School East's Drama Club and newspaper staff are mostly white.

TABLE 12

Goldsboro High School West
Girls Ninth Grade Health and Physical Education Classes
1972-73

Class	No. of Whites	No. of Blacks	Total	% of Blacks
Health and Physical Education	13	18	31	31
	16	15	31	48
	14	14	28	50
	13	16	29	55
	13	18	31	58
	12	22	34	65
	10	25	35	71
	10	26	36	72
	8	24	32	75
	6	21	27	78

TABLE 13

Goldsboro High School West
Boys Ninth Grade Health and Physical Education Classes
1972-73

Class	No. of Whites	No. of Blacks	Total	% of Blacks
Health and Physical Education	13	14	27	52
	8	9	17	53
	15	18	33	55
	12	15	27	56
	12	15	27	56
	10	14	24	58
	8	12	20	60
	11	18	29	62
	13	23	36	64
	11	20	31	65

Each of the Goldsboro High Schools has football, basketball, and baseball teams, and at each of the schools the football team is integrated, the basketball team is mostly black, and the baseball team is white. The football team has a white coach, the basketball team a black coach, and the baseball team a white coach. When asked about the composition of the basketball team, white students interviewed stated at first that it was simply a sport for blacks more than whites. When pressed, however, they stated that some whites would like to go out for the team, but it had been too strongly identified with the blacks. One student said:

> To me, and talking among the white guys, you know, we have a lot that could play. But they feel it's a black game. They let all these black guys run around them with talk that basketball is a black game, and they don't go out. They won't have nothing to do with it.

Other students stated that they avoided trying out for the team because they feared they wouldn't play as well as the blacks, or for fear of being "hassled" by the blacks on the team or by their white peers.

When questioned about the composition of the baseball team, some of the black students also stated that some blacks had wanted to go out for the team, but were ignored at tryouts and felt they would be left out of key positions. One black student stated, "Ever since this school has been integrated there have been nothing but whites on the team. I went out for baseball last year and they acted like they just didn't want us to play."

Both black and white students felt that football was an experience that brought blacks and whites together on the field, but friendships did not continue after games. Other sports which break down along racial lines are track which is mostly black and tennis which is white.

There are no intramurals or girls sports. Cheerleading has six blacks and six whites according to regulation.

At each of the high schools, Student Council representation consists of a black and a white representative from each of the homerooms. The Council elects its own officers, and these are usually balanced between whites and blacks. Class officers are mostly black, and white students feel that this reflects the fact that the school has a majority black population. When questioned if they felt if students voted along racial lines, the white students felt that it was happening less now than in the past. One student stated, "I think if you don't know a person, you might do that, but if you know them I think most students vote for who is the best candidate." The schools also have Human Relations Committees with black-white representation.

The schools sponsor few social functions. The Homecoming Dance, Christmas Dance, and Class Dances are attended by both black and white students, but whites don't attend other dances that are held.

Seating patterns are segregated in the cafeterias of both schools, but there are instances where individual black and white students intermingle. Both black and white students who were interviewed spoke of few close friendships with individuals of a different race, and emphasized the separateness that exists after school hours. Few whites had had black friends at their home, and most spoke of the fact that their parents would not approve of this. Blacks stated that they felt that whites were afraid of coming into their neighborhoods.

While much evidence of racial separation exists in the upper grades of the Goldsboro schools, it must be examined with the recognition that these black and white students have been separated for most of their lives, and in spite of the fact

that the district had expended much effort to bring them together in an atmosphere absent from conflict and hostility, barriers are not easily eliminated. Nevertheless, some barriers have broken down, and the frankness that characterizes the following two statements by white students captures the realities of their feelings as they struggled with a new situation.

> About the fifth grade before we desegregated, I didn't know much about them, you know, just what I'd heard and how they start a lot of trouble and everything. And now that I've been with them in school for three or four years, I can see that a lot of them are like that. But there are also those who come to school to learn, and not to cause trouble. And I'm glad I've had a chance to see that.

> When I was in fifth grade and they were gonna start [desegregation], I was scared and everything. I didn't want to have anything to do with them. And then I learned to know them better, and after I got kicked a few times and started to shut my mouth to them, I got along with them. And ever since then I've been pretty good friends with them.

TEACHERS AND PARENTS

At the elementary level, teachers who were interviewed spoke often of friendship and interaction among staff members. They talked of open and good natured joking between blacks and whites, working closely together on instructional matters, and of some after school socializing. A sense of separateness was more apparent at the upper grade level. However, this could reflect the fact that there seemed to be less opportunity for any of the teachers, black or white, to share ideas during the school day. Only one of the teachers interviewed in the upper grade schools spoke of socializing with another staff member of a different race after school hours.

Parent committees at the various schools are much less active than they were during the height of desegregation activities, and black representation is low. Black parents who were interviewed, however, spoke of their satisfaction with the schools, but voiced concern over the fact that so many black students continue to have serious academic problems in the Goldsboro schools. Their continual emphasis was on the need to find ways to narrow the gap between white and black student achievement.

White parents, while supporting in philosophy the district's desegregation efforts, were frank in their feelings that too much preoccupation with the problems of black students fostered a neglect of the white student. One white parent stated.

> I'm more concerned now than I was before because I thought that we had the facilities in the schools and the know-how to make this a workable situation and to really educate the blacks for the better. But I personally am more concerned because mine are going backward.

Many white parents also expressed concern over the language commonly used by the black students which was quickly picked up by the white students. Some resented their children being exposed to this language. But other white parents felt this was not an important concern. Undercurrents of discontent thus exist among white parents. But generally, their feelings about Goldsboro schools today continue to reflect positive support.

FINAL IMAGES

One final measure of the successes of desegregation in Goldsboro is the extent to which those it has affected continue to believe in its advantages. The following commentaries are illustrative of positive and very personal outcomes of the district's efforts, and they reflect the hopes of the future.

> I personally feel and have felt from the beginning that our children have to learn to live in a real world, not a white world. Whether we like it or not, our country is changing in this respect and beginning to recognize the other half of our population and give them full rights as citizens. Our children have to learn to live in this world. We didn't. It's not our fault we didn't. We were never allowed to. This is my main reason for believing in integration. Plus I think the black community has a lot to offer us spiritually and culturally. Different, yes, but something to offer, and we have to find out what it is and make it an integral part of the community. (white parent)

> There is no denying that integration was viewed with mixed feelings by some of us. Yes, we had been told that materials and facilities were better in white schools, and that our children would benefit. But we had a feeling for our schools. We had gone through them, and we had a certain pride in what they meant to our community. But we know that our children must learn to compete in a white world, and they must have every advantage. And I feel that integration is going to bring this about. (black parent)

> We may still have lots of fights and disagreements, but when we graduate and go out into the real world, it's gonna be black and white and different kinds of races. And at least we've had a chance to learn about that now. (white student)

> Integration has given us a chance to see that whites aren't better than we are. I think that the better facilities and more materials will help us achieve more in the future. (black student)

Desegregation in Goldsboro, North Carolina, was a drama of change involving a very complex network of actions and reactions. The description presented in this report evolved from written material and the words of those closely involved or affected. The

report is not exhaustive, and there are many in Goldsboro whose perceptions are not reflected. This is especially true of lower class whites and lower class blacks. Nevertheless, the thrust of the report documents the commitment and widespread efforts of the district staff and the community to affect change through processes that allowed the voices of disparate elements of the community to be heard.

In its essence, desegregation in Goldsboro was characterized by the strong leadership of a dedicated Superintendent and Board of Education, by community wide forums for communication and interaction, and by concern for the feelings and status of both black and white staff members. The planning process involved a search for solutions in which all sides were heard. Compromises indeed had to be made on both sides, but these were tempered by the atmosphere of openness and general trust.

One cannot deny that what has been described in this report represents only a beginning in removing inequities between the races and fostering mutual understanding and respect. The Goldsboro City system today is already immersed in issues surrounding a possible merger with the County system. Its present organization may thus be disrupted again. What has been captured in this report, however, is timeless, for it describes the human elements which are common to desegregation, and documents effective and meaningful mechanisms for implementing desegregation with overall success. As such, the story of desegregation in Goldsboro, North Carolina during the years 1965 to 1973 stands as an example of effective commitment, planning, and cooperation.

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